1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

## AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make-shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

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S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

**Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings**

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[177] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often baths with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[55]
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[24] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., [443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market [261] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, [263] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
• 235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

janitor and small repairman for a university building at $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already